

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 205654

LIMDIS; LUSAKA/PRETORIA FOR ASST. SECY. MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH,

1. WE HAVE BEEN CONSULTING WITH BRITISH HERE IN EFFORT TO COORDINATE BOTH THE EXACT TIMING AND CONTENT OF OUR JOINT DEMARCHE TO CAPITALS OF POTENTIAL DONORS CONCERNING THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. IN EFFORT TO FACILITATE SIMILAR AND TIMELY INSTRUCTIONS TO OUR RESPECTIVE AMBASSADORS, WE HAVE WORKED WITH BRITISH EMBASSY STAFF AND GIVEN TO THEM A PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF WHAT A JOINT INSTRUCTION CABLE MIGHT CONTAIN, BUT WITH UNDERSTANDING IT IS STILL IN PRELIMINARY FORM
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AND NOT CLEARED HERE ABOVE THE DESK LEVEL. TEXT OF THIS DRAFT IS REPEATED IN PARA 6 BELOW FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

2. THE END OF THE FIFTH PARAGRAPH IN THIS PRELIMINARY TEXT INDICATES THAT OUR AMBASSADORS WOULD LEAVE WITH THE POTENTIAL DONOR COUNTRIES A COPY OF THE MAIN TEXT OF THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER, I.E., "PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA". WE WOULD PROVIDE THE ANNEXES A, B AND C OF THE WHITE PAPER AFTER IT IS

PUBLISHED. THE DRAFT READS THIS WAY BECAUSE THE BRITISH HERE APPARENTLY THINK THIS IS WHAT LONDON WISHES. WE HAVE QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF THIS APPROACH ON TWO PRINCIPAL GROUNDS. FIRST, THE LIST OF 16 OTHER DONORS (I.E., THE FRG, JAPAN, FRANCE, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, IRAN, SAUDI ARABIA, ITALY, NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, SWEDEN, NEW ZEALAND, NORWAY, DENMARK, KUWAIT AND THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES) CONTAINS SOME COUNTRIES, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ARAB ONES, WHICH MAY NOT BE ABLE TO KEEP THE TEXT OF THE WHITE PAPER ON THE STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS THAT WE BELIEVE IT REQUIRES BEFORE PUBLICATION AND WHICH WE EMPHASIZE IN THE DRAFTINSTRUCTIONS CABLE. SECOND, THIS APPROACH DOES NOT GIVE TO POTENTIAL DONORS THE ANNEX C WHICH CONTAINS THE MAIN SUBJECT OF THE DEMARCHE.

3. OUR PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO MAKE THE DEMARCHE ON THE BASIS OF A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE SEVEN MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE AND THE AGREED SPEAKING NOTES ON THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. WE WOULD ALSO PREFER TO LEAVE ANNEX C WITH THE POTENTIAL DONORS. IF THE BRITISH WERE TO AGREE, THIS WOULD IMPLY CONFIDENTIAL

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DROPPING THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IN THE FIFTH PARAGRAPH OF THE TEXT OF OUR DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS CABLE, AND REPLACING IT WITH A STATEMENT THAT WE WOULD PROVIDE THE WHITE PAPER'S MAIN TEXT WITH THE OTHER ANNEXES WHEN THEY ARE PUBLISHED.

4. A SECOND QUESTION WHICH OCCURS TO US CONCERNS THE TIMING OF THE APPROACH TO THESE POTENTIAL DONORS. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE BRITISH HERE THAT LONDON MAY BE RECOMMENDING TO DR. OWEN IN LUSAKA THAT THE JOINT DEMARCHE TO POTENTIAL DONORS TAKE PLACE ON AUGUST 30, A DAY EARLIER THAN BEFORE, IN ORDER TO CATCH THE NORDICS BEFORE THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. THIS STEPPED UP DEMARCHE WOULD SEEM TO US TO INCREASE ALSO THE PROSPECT OF LEAKS, INTENSIFY INQUIRIES BACK HERE FROM THE PRESS AND LEAVE INCREASINGLY LESS FOR THE WHITE PAPER ITSELF TO EXPLAIN IN UNGARBLED FASHION. IT HAS EVEN OCCURRED TO US THAT IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE LEAKS AND PRESS SPECULATION, THE JOINT DEMARCHE TO POTENTIAL DONORS TO THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND COULD EVEN USEFULLY TAKE PLACE ON THE SAME DAY AS THE PUBLIC RELEASE OF THE WHITE PAPER, RATHER THAN IN ADVANCE. WE DO NOT FEEL AS STRONGLY ABOUT THIS QUESTION AS WE DO ABOUT EARLY RELEASE TO ALL THE POTENTIAL DONORS OF THE MAIN TEXT OF THE WHITE PAPER. AT A MINIMUM, HOWEVER, WE PREFER THAT THE DEMARCHE BE MADE ON AUGUST 31 RATHER THAN AUGUST

30 IF THE WHITE PAPER IS COMING OUT ON SEPTEMBER 2.
5. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE IT IF YOU COULD ASK DR. OWEN'S PARTY WHETHER OUR PREFERENCES AS EXPRESSED IN PARA 3 ABOVE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL IF YOU COULD ADVISE US REGARDING THE QUESTION OF TIMING RAISED IN PARA 4 ABOVE.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF THE PRELIMINARY DRAFT INSTRUC-
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TIONS:

FOR AMBASSADORS:

(1) WE WISH YOU TO CONDUCT WITH YOUR BRITISH COUNTERPART A JOINT DEMARCHE ON AUGUST 31 TO YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, OR AT THE MOST APPROPRIATE LEVEL, TO SEEK EARLY REACTION TO OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND AN EXPRESSION OF THE WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE HOST GOVERNMENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. YOU SHOULD CONDUCT YOUR DEMARCHE WITH THE POINTS BEGINNING PARAGRAPH 4

(2) FOR BONN, TEHRAN, THE HAGUE, OTTAWA, PARIS, TOKYO: YOU WILL, OF COURSE, WANT TO SUMMARIZE OR BRIEFLY NOTE THOSE POINTS WHICH YOU HAVE ALREADY MADE IN YOUR PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS.

(3) FOR ALL ADDRESSEES: IF POSSIBLE, DEPT WILL ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE YOU WITH UPDATE OF DEVELOPMENTS OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S TRIP TO SOUTHERN AFRICA BEFORE THE DEMARCHE IS MADE. THIS IS HOWEVER PROBLEMATIC AND YOU SHOULD PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE INFORMATION AND POINTS CONTAINED BELOW IF NECESSARY.

(4) THE US AND THE UK HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN FORMULATING COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSALS FOR AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, ARRANGEMENTS FOR A TRANSITIONAL CARETAKER GOVERNMENT AND AN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS ARE FAIR TO ALL PARTIES AND CONSTITUTE A SOUND BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.
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(5) THE PROPOSALS ARE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:
(A) THE SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE ILLEGAL REGIME AND A RETURN TO LEGALITY; (B) AN ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IN THE COURSE OF 1978; (C) FREE

AND IMPARTIAL ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE; (D) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF A TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, WITH THE TASK OF CONDUCTING THE ELECTIONS FOR AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT;

(E) A UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE, INCLUDING A UNITED NATIONS FORCE, DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD; (F) AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION PROVIDING FOR A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, THE ABOLITION OF DISCRIMINATION, THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY; AND (G) A DEVELOPMENT FUND TO REVIVE THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY. (YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT A BRITISH WHITE PAPER WILL BE RELEASED IN A DAY OR SO WHICH GIVES THE FULL DETAILS OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS.) IN MAKING YOUR DEMARCHE, YOU MAY HAND OVER THE DOCUMENT "PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA" (SEPTTEL) EXPLAINING THAT THE ANNEXES A, B AND C REFERRED TO IN THAT DOCUMENT WILL BE GIVEN WHEN THE WHITE PAPER IS PUBLISHED. PLEASE STRESS THE NEED TO HOLD THIS DOCUMENT AND ITS CONTENTS IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE.

(6) YOU SHOULD NOTE PRESIDENT CARTER PRESENTED THE OUTLINE OF THE PROPOSALS TO PRESIDENT NYERERE, CHAIRMAN OF THE FRONT LINE STATES, DURING THE LATTER'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN EARLY AUGUST. NYERERE WAS FAVORABLY IMPRESSED AND AGREED TO HELP ARRANGE LAST WEEKEND'S MEETING OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AT WHICH AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THE PLAN IN DETAIL TO THE PRESIDENTS AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE PATRIOTIC CONFIDENTIAL

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FRONT LEADERS. OWEN AND YOUNG HAVE ALSO SPOKEN TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS, OTHER RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS AND THE SMITH REGIME.

(7) YOU SHOULD THEN STRESS THE GREAT IMPORTANCE WHICH WE PLACE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AS AN INSTRUMENT SUPPORTIVE OF A JUST POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND OF A MORE ASSURED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BY AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. INDICATE TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT THAT THE FUND WHICH WE HAVE IN MIND IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THAT DESCRIBED TO THEM LAST DECEMBER. NOTE THAT THE DESCRIPTION OF THE FUND PROPOSAL CIRCULATED AT THAT TIME IS ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THE TEXT WHICH HAS BEEN INCORPORATED INTO THE CURRENT US/UK PROPOSALS (AS ANNEX C OF THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER) BUT THAT WE ARE NOW IN A POSITION TO SUGGEST THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF THE WORLD BANK AS AN AGENT FOR THE FUND. YOU MAY NOTE THAT WORLD BANK PRESIDENT MCNAMARA HAS BEEN CONSULTED

AND AGREED TO COMMUNICATE WITH HIS EXECUTIVE BOARD ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY OF A MANAGEMENT ROLE FOR THE BANK. YOU MAY ALSO INDICATE THAT THE US AND UK VIEW THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF

THE FUND AS PREDICATED UPON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE.

(8) WE HAVE AGREED WITH THE BRITISH ON YOUR USE OF THE FOLLOWING "SPEAKING NOTES" ON THE FUND IN THIS DEMARCHE. YOU MAY HAND OVER THESE SPEAKING NOTES TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT AS AN AIDE MEMOIRE.

(A) NATURE AND GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE ZDF. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CENTRAL OBJECTIVES OF THE FUND WILL BE THOSE OF A DEVELOPMENT AGENCY. IN ITS OPERATIONS THE FUND WILL TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES PREVAILING IN ZIMBABWE AFTER INDEPENDENCE. THE FUND'S MANAGEMENT WILL PAY REGARD TO THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY IN THE SECTORS TREATED IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS. HOWEVER, THE FUND WILL BE INTENDED NEITHER TO COMPENSATE ANY SECTION OF THE ZIMBABWEAN COMMUNITY FOR LOSSES SUSTAINED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE NOR TO ASSUME, OR DIRECTLY TO FINANCE THE DISCHARGE OF, INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL LIABILITIES WHICH WILL PROPERLY FALL ON THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT.

(B) RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING. THE FUND'S OPERATIONS CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY DISCHARGED ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN ITS MANAGEMENT AND THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. NOTHING IN THE PROSPECTUS FOR THE FUND IS INTENDED TO DIMINISH THE FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT BOTH FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN THE BROADEST SENSE AND FOR THE PARTICULAR SECTORS AND PROJECTS TO WHICH THEY WILL ACCORD PRIORITY.

(C) CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE FUND WILL EXTEND ASSISTANCE. IN ORDER FOR THE OBJECTIVES OF THE FUND TO BE SUCCESSFULLY FULFILLED, THEY WILL HAVE TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN A CLIMATE OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE IN THE LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS OF ZIMBABWE.

IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND FORMS PART OF THE SETTLEMENT ARRANGEMENTS AS A WHOLE, AND THAT THEY IN TURN CONSTITUTE AN ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUING OPERATION OF THE FUND.

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(D) PUBLIC SERVICE PENSIONS. RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC SERVICE PENSIONS WILL PASS TO THE INDEPENDENT

ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. THE PRESENT AND FUTURE LIABILITIES ARISING FROM SUPERANNUATION BENEFITS CANNOT BE BORNE BY ANY EXTERNAL AGENCY, BILATERAL OR INTERNATIONAL. HOWEVER, THE ZDF WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY TAKE THESE LIABILITIES INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING ON THE AMOUNTS OF ASSISTANCE ZIMBABWE WILL NEED, ESPECIALLY IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE. SUCH ASSISTANCE, WHILE NOT DIRECTLY FINANCING SUPERANNUATION OBLIGATIONS, WOULD RELEASE RESOURCES TO HELP THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT TO DISCHARGE SUCH OBLIGATIONS.

(E) AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, LAND TRANSFER AND SETTLEMENT. AGRICULTURE AND THE RURAL SECTOR GENERALLY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RECEIVE A HIGH PRIORITY IN THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT'S DEVELOPMENT PLANNING, AND THE FUND WILL BE ABLE TO ASSIST PROJECTS OF THE CONVENTIONAL KIND NEEDED IN THE RURAL SECTOR, SUCH AS COMMUNICATIONS, POWER SUPPLIES, IRRIGATION, THE AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT AND THE EXPANSION OF EXTENSION SERVICES. IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS GENERAL PROGRAM OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE A MUCH MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTIVABLE LAND WILL BE NEEDED.

(F) AFRICANIZATION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE. THE WELFARE AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE IN THE YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE WILL DEPEND UPON THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT OF ALL SECTIONS

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OF THE POPULATION. TO HELP PROMOTE THAT COOPERATION, THE ZDF WOULD BE READY TO SUPPORT MEASURES DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE FULLEST POSSIBLE USE OF SKILLED MANPOWER. EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS WOULD BE DIRECTED TO THIS END, AND THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE HELPED IN THIS WAY TO EMBARK ON A PROGRAM OF AFRICANIZATION OF THE CIVIL AND OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES. THE PROGRAM COULD BE ORGANIZED BY A RESTRUCTURED PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION WHOSE COMPOSITION WOULD COMMAND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE.

(G) MANAGEMENT OF THE FUND. OFFICIALS OF THE WORLD BANK HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER

RECOMMENDING TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS THAT THE BANK MANAGE THE FUND'S RESOURCES ON AN AGENCY BASIS. MATTERS OF POLICY WOULD HAVE TO BE DELIBERATED ON AND DECIDED BY A GOVERNING BODY, WHICH MIGHT BE COMPOSED OF THE IBRD EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS REPRESENT-

SENTING GOVERNMENTS CONTRIBUTING TO THE FUND TOGETHER WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. CERTAIN PROJECTS CARRIED OUT IN ZIMBABWE WOULD ALSO BENEFIT NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES -- E.G., COMMUNICATIONS -- IN WHICH CASE THE COUNTRIES WOULD BE CONSULTED AS APPROPRIATE.

(H) FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS. THE ZDF COULD SET ITS LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS JUDGMENT OF THE DEGREE OF HELP NEEDED BY THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT TO MEET ITS TOTAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AND THE DISCHARGE OF ITS FOREIGN EXCHANGE COMMITMENTS.

(I) PRIVATE CAPITAL. IT IS HOPED THAT THE OFFICIAL FLOWS OF FUNDS, BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL, WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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BE COMPLEMENTED BY EXTENSIVE PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN AN APPROPRIATE CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE. THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT WOULD OF COURSE DECIDE FOR ITSELF THE ROLE OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND THE SECTORS IT WOULD WISH IT TO BE DIRECTED TOWARD.

(9) ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE ASK YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT FOR ITS SUPPORT OF OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND FOR AN INDICATION OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE AS A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE PROPOSED ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND ASSUMING THE US/UK SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS ARE LIKELY TO LEAD TO A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM.END TEXT.

7. FYI: THE SPEAKING NOTES TO BE LEFT AS AN AIDE-MEMOIRE ARE THE SAME AS AGREED EARLIER WITH THE BRITISH EXCEPT FOR CHANGES TO PARAS D, G AND H WHICH WE AND U.S. TREASURY THOUGHT WOULD BE BETTER FOR OUR SUBSEQUENT DEALINGS WITH U.S. CONGRESS. BRITISH IN LONDON HAVE AGREED TO MOST OF THE CHANGES AND WILL HOPEFULLY SOON RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE REMAINDER. THESE CHANGES IN THE SPEAKING NOTES (A) DE-EMPHASIZE PROGRAM LOANS BY THE FUND BUT WITHOUT EXCLUDING THEM, (B) LEAVE OPEN THE NATURE OF THE EXACT COMPOSITION OF THE MANAGING BODY OF THE FUND, AND (C) CLARIFY THAT THE USE OF THE FUND'S RESOURCES IS TO FINANCE PROJECTS IN ZIMBABWE, BUT THAT WHEN THESE PROJECTS HAVE SPILL-OVER BENEFITS

TO COUNTRIES AROUND ZIMBABWE, THEN THE LATTER
WOULD BE CONSULTED. (YOU WILL RECALL THAT
MR. MCNAMARA HAD ALSO THOUGHT THIS LATTER ASPECT
NEEDED CLARIFICATION.)

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